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a cane. He and two others came to the end of the landing-stage with slow formal steps, then stopped to take the salute, then he went round saying a few words to one or other of the children in the line, and finally threw among them bits of stick and pigs' teeth for which they scrambled, it being the custom of the Governor to provide tobacco and sweets to be scrambled for at the conclusion of his visit. It was all done very solemnly, till the final scramble, which ended in shrieks of laughter. After that there were races, in the fashion taught them by the Mission.

At Kurtatchi the children used to play a game in which one of their number imitated the actions of a person who is *iburar* (made mad by the spirits, as described on pp. 516–21) and the others pretended to be frightened and ran away from him, till some of them seized him and held him down.

One night two Petats children gave a dancing display, with a circle of admiring adults round them. They did a number of steps which do not occur in the very stereotyped ceremonial dances which are the only ones practised in this area, and seemed to be inventing their movements, which caused much amusement and approbation. But I think this was exceptional, and as a rule, the children were content to show off to one another, or to me. One little girl would go through a series of acrobatic feats, twisting herself about, or lifting another child and holding her horizontally, looking all the while to see whether I was watching. Other children will act for their own amusement, when alone. A little boy who lived near me at Petats used to carry on conversations with himself, in two voices, so different that I frequently looked over to see whether another child had come up. He did not know that I was observing him.

Toys.

Such toys as these children have are made, usually at the time when they are wanted, of the products of the bush. They are few in number, and very crude in construction, but they serve their turn.

Babies have rattles made of shells, with the tongue either of a smaller shell or of a dog's tooth. They may consist of a single shell on the end of a short string of shell-disks, or of several such strings tied together (Pl. 16). They are used also by adults at dances and other ceremonial occasions. I have sometimes seen women string

824 178 I have sometimes CHILDHOOD see women string
524 together the ball-like fruit of the carophyllum tree to make a rattle
● 534 for their babies.

524 Carophyllum balls are used also as playthings by the women, who take two of them in their hands, hold a shell in one hand, throw a ball into the air and knock the other against the shell before the first falls and is caught. But apart from this kind of catching game, there seems to be very little idea of playing with a ball. This seems curious, in view of all the round fruits and nuts, &c., to be found in the bush, but perhaps the explanation is that most of these will not bounce. When I gave a ball to a small boy he did 526 not know what to do with it, but the new plaything soon caught 177 their interest and my balls became very popular. Young men returned from working on plantations have brought back footballs, and this game is now played in most of the villages, in a rough and tumble style, chiefly, if not exclusively, by the older boys and men.

524 Whenever a pig is killed there is great competition among the children for the bladder to blow up into a balloon, the orifice being fastened with a piece of fibre string. If a pregnant sow is killed the embryos are also seized for playthings; the children who are lucky enough to get them run about the village with them all day, showing them to everybody. They carry them about until they tire of them and throw them away.

526 The boys have miniature bows with which they use arrows made out of the mid-rib of the sago-palm leaf. With these they shoot fish, small birds, bats, and occasionally opossum, and they also play at shooting at a mark, such as the top of a tall tree. Even the very small boys were, many of them, quite good at this.

They have mock fights, using sticks instead of spears. These are sometimes quite elaborate affairs, with a number of boys on each side, when they go through the pretence of killing some of the other side, carrying them off, and cutting them up preparatory to making a meal of them, the other side retaliating by doing the same to its own prisoners. Finally, the leader of one side makes peace by sending a message to the leader of the other side to come and chew the betel-mixture with him, the areca-nut which it is customary to send as a symbol being represented by a stone. The affair ends with a friendly meal, in which stones take the place of taro and sand is used for ceremonial pudding.

524 Top-spinning is supposed to be a seasonal game, which should

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trees they felled, nor pick up those that lay scattered thickly on the ground. Leaving behind us a desolate scene of wreckage, we went on farther and skirted the village of Tchinopai. From now onwards we climbed steeply, dropping into deep valleys between ridges. As we stood, during one of the many pauses, on a downward gradient, we could see the lights of the men in front of us going down into the depths, and those of the head of the procession climbing skywards in the far distance. There must have been between two and three hundred in single file, with torches at intervals, their flicker making the forest into a mysterious place full of weird shadows. It is not difficult to understand the general dread of the forest after nightfall.

When we had almost made up our minds that we were to walk all night, we came to the village of Nimbarossi. On the verandah of a house by the road was laid out another store of provisions, which were promptly distributed. The crowd then disposed itself for what remained of the night, some inside the house, some on the verandah, and a great many on the ground outside.

Every one was up at dawn next morning, and the long line continued to wind up hill and down dale, crossing rivers—fortunately plentifully supplied with boulders—at intervals. The line was constantly broken by men dashing into the bush to get some sweet-smelling or bright-coloured plant, which they stuck into their hair and armbands, or their belts, if they were lucky enough to possess that much-coveted article.

Presently the whole line halted and collected in a clearing, spreading wild banana leaves to sit upon. A native never sits on the bare ground if he can help it. The boys who were wearing *upi* made elaborate covers for them with leaves, because it would not do for the novices to see them before they had received their own. The older men rubbed lime over their faces. One man produced a tin of talcum powder, which was passed round, its contents being daubed on foreheads and cheeks. Another was the envied possessor of a pot of brilliantine, which he daubed under his armpits with evident pleasure. They hung a wreath of aromatic plants round my neck, which I appreciated as evidence that they did not resent my presence. Presently the sound of a bull-roarer was heard in the distance. I was told that this was the voice of the *urar*, and that we should presently see them. Before moving on, each man carefully whipped with the large leaves of the wild banana the

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place where he had been sitting, and hid the leaves in the bush. This was done to guard against the possibility of any one making bad magic against them at that place.

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Very soon we came to a broad track newly cleared, or rather hacked out, for fallen trees, banana bushes, and creepers still covered it, making progress difficult. This destruction is supposed to be the work of the *urar*, and is intended to impress the women, who will presently pass that way, with their tremendous power. This proved also to be the explanation of the destruction of the areca-palms the night before. We climbed over or pushed our way through the tangle for a short distance, and then came to a broader clearing, where some large trees had been cut down. There we found a third platform laden with food. Before it was divided a sham fight took place, with much shouting and stamping and clashing of weapons.

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From this place onwards the trail had not been cut, so some of the men went in front to clear it. They certainly did a thorough job, strewing trees and bush-tangle over a track about ten feet wide. The young men in front carried a long piece of rattan. When they came to a tree, they tied one end round the trunk, put considerable man-power on the other end, and tugged at the rattan line until the tree fell. If it offered too much resistance, they hacked at its trunk with axes, but most of the trees were soft-timbered, so it was not such a laborious undertaking as it looked. As each tree fell, its branches were lopped sufficiently to allow the crowd coming behind to scramble over it, then the vanguard went on to the next tree, slashing down all the bush-tangle in their way. The result was certainly calculated to impress the uninitiated with the power of the *urar* supposed to be responsible for all this destruction.

881 574 487 [537]

Presently we came to a large clearing, also freshly cut. Here a man standing on a fallen tree trunk was swinging a bull-roarer. He had another in his left hand, slightly smaller; this he used alternately with the first.

As we went on we were shown stones lodged high up in the forks of trees, said to be thrown there by the *urar*, and, in two places, big holes in the ground about six feet apart, his footprints. These were to be duly pointed out to the women when they passed that way at a later stage in the proceedings.

Finally, we crossed a river for the third time. On the bank a halt was called while the long piece of rattan that had been used

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THE BULL-ROARER

The whirring of the bull-roarer (*guĕv*) represents the voice of the *urar*. Among the people of North Bougainville, this instrument belongs exclusively to the *wapi* ceremony and has no other

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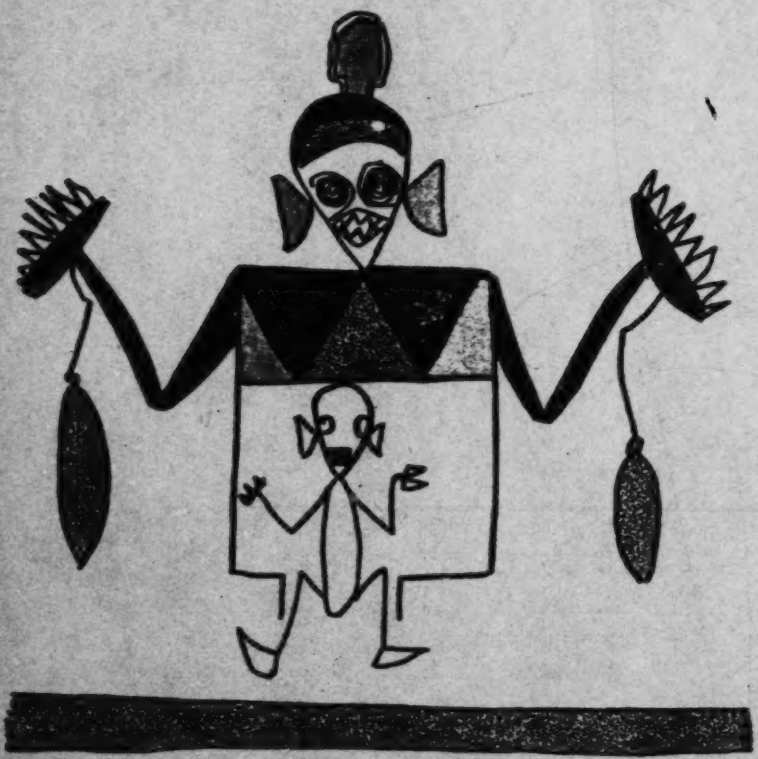

FIG. 7.—*Urar* figure at wapi ceremony, being carried on the shoulders of a man. The figure has an *upi* on its head and a bull-roarer in each hand. Drawn by a young man.

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function at all. It plays no part in the other two ceremonies connected with the wearing of the *upi*. It is very sacred. The people believe that if a man makes it for no reason, he will die.[1] Only a

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[1] Before I knew this, I tried to persuade one of the Kurtatchi boys to make me a model of one, thinking it would be impossible to persuade them to part with one that had actually been used in a ceremony. He refused point-blank without giving any reason, and I saw by his manner that it would be unwise to

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few know how to make it; those who do not must pay a man to make one when they need it. It must be paid for with *imun* (ceremonial currency made of porpoise or flying fox teeth) and several pigs. The wood of either of two trees may be used, the names of which are *iwiŋ* and *torus*; both are hard-timbered trees. The string is called *inuts*, but is the ordinary twisted fibre string. To sound the bull-roarer is *toawiura*.

The bull-roarer may be sounded during the preparations for the *wapi* ceremony, as well as during the actual performance. During this time the men of one village will sometimes go in the night and sound the bull-roarer outside another village belonging to the group, whereupon the men of the second village must bring out a pig and give it to the bull-roarer party. Shortly afterwards they will go and sound their own bull-roarers outside the original village, and will receive a pig in return. This is all a part of the mystification of the women, who know that the time is near when their sons will be taken from them by the *urar*, and who believe—or are supposed to believe—that it is his voice which is heard near the village during the night, calling for the boys. If the men of any village were to sound the bull-roarer at any other time, all the other places would be very angry, and would 'make poison' against the men of the offending village. The bull-roarer is too terrible a thing to be played with, even though the men all know what it really is.

Like the *upi*, the bull-roarer is supposed to have belonged in the first place to a woman. The story of its origin runs as follows:

A woman once went to cut firewood in the bush. When she had finished cutting firewood the sun had already gone down. She picked up a piece of wood and knocked it on a log. It split in two. One piece flew up into the air and made a noise like this (here the teller imitated the noise made by the bull-roarer). The woman jumped up in a fright: 'What is that?' Then she thought: 'It is something very good. It belongs to me, I found it.' She threw away the other half of the broken

press the matter. A rather more sophisticated man from another village also refused, saying that the people would be angry with him if he did. However, shortly before I left, one of the younger men, who had been a plantation labourer, came to me secretly with one which he had made, saying I could have it if I did not tell any one he had made it. Eventually he brought me also two which had actually been in use, under the same conditions of secrecy, but with the permission of his father, to whom they belonged. Though I was glad to be able to bring home specimens of the bull-roarer, the incident shows only too plainly how the traditional sanctions are weakening.

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stick, and broke off a piece of the fibre of a bush banana and fastened it to the piece of wood that flew up into the air. Then she tried swinging it, and it cried out: 'Woo-o-o-o-o-o-o' (imitating the bull-roarer). The woman said: 'This belongs to me, I found it.'

Then she went to her village, and some women were sitting on the women's verandah. The woman put her load of firewood down at the back of her own hut, and called out to all the women: 'All of you come here, tell all the women to come together here.' Then all the women said: 'What do you want us to come for?' She said: 'You come, I want to show you something I found in the bush.' Then all the women came together. The men stayed at the *tagoan* (front, or men's verandah). Then the woman untied her load of firewood, and took out the piece of wood and showed it to all the women. They all looked at it, and said: 'Well, what of it? You get a piece of firewood and show it to us, what is it all about?' 'That thing, that's all, by and by you will see, I will go and make it cry out.' Then she swung it, and the piece of wood cried out: 'Woo-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o'. Then all the women said: 'True, true, you have found a good thing. It belongs to us, you found it.'

Then all the men came: 'What is that crying out here?' All the women said: 'Something belonging to us, this woman found it in the bush.' Then all the men went back to their own side of the huts and talked. 'Ah, we had better get this piece of wood, it can cry out.' So the men went and took it away from the women, and they killed all the women, all the grown women and all the girls, they killed them all, except some very tiny girls, hardly more than babies; they were allowed to live because they did not know about the bull-roarer properly. Then all the men tried the bull-roarer in front of the village, and the piece of wood cried out: 'Woo-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o'. Then all the men said: 'Ah, true, this is a good thing we have got.' When the time for the *wapi* ceremony came, all the men cut down a tree and made bull-roarers with it, and tried them, and they cried out. Since then, the bull-roarer has always been used at the *wapi* ceremony.

Bull-roarers are kept most carefully out of sight of the women. In the olden days, if a woman accidentally caught sight of one, she was immediately put to death. Nowadays, since killing is forbidden by the Government, some one would 'make poison' against her, and thus bring about her death, for which, of course, no one would be found to blame.

The shape of the instrument is fairly uniform, resembling the accompanying sketch (Fig. 8). The size varies somewhat, some being considerably smaller than others. One of the two I brought home measured 25½ in. in length by 3⅜ in. at its widest part, the

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other 17 in. in length and 3 in. in width. Both large and small ones are considered to be male, and each bears the name of the *urar* whose voice it is supposed to be. Thus one of those I saw at the *wapi* ceremony was called Buwō, another Upitomet, another Tororon.

FIG. 8. Bull-roarer.

There is also a subsidiary instrument which is regarded as female. It is made by splitting open the stalk of a bush banana leaf, propping the two sides apart with a bit of stick and fixing the flat part of a leaf into the gap. By blowing upon this leaf in a certain manner, a sound is produced which resembles the wailing of women. The instrument has no name; they say: '*Mon to biom non*' (the woman is crying). The Hahon people of the mountainous hinterland make it in a different manner, by taking a canarium almond which has had its nut extracted by a *karib* (a species of tree rat) through a hole which the animal makes with its teeth at one end. They blow into this hole, thus producing a similar noise. These instruments are used to impress the novices while they are sleeping in the bush. One man sounds it on one side of their shelter, another sounds it from another direction, another in yet another place. The boys think it is their mothers wailing for them, and are frightened, not knowing what is going to happen to them. These female instruments are not sacred, and are thrown away when they have served their purpose, but no one would make one for me.

CEREMONIES SUBSIDIARY TO THE *WAPI*

Several days after the *wapi*, there is a ceremony involving the mothers of the novices (*tʃina'upi*) and the *amro*. As usual in matters of time, it was impossible to obtain exact information as to the length of the interval that is allowed to elapse. Its purpose is to allow the novices to become accustomed to managing their extremely awkward head-gear. This ceremony is called *watog* (*wa-* causative prefix, *tog* = barter). The novices take no part in it, but remain still secluded in the bush until the following day.

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88| There is, in the *wapi* ceremony, quite definitely the motive,
182 familiar to anthropologists in the Duk-duk and other secret societies, of hoodwinking the women. To impress upon them the great power of the *urar* who will presently kill their sons, large areas of bush will be laid waste, and even groves of areca-palms in full bearing will be cut down, although the areca-nut is one of the most highly valued delicacies known to the natives, and is far from plentiful in this area. This destruction is clearly for the sole benefit of the women, since the novices do not see the result of it, or at least, not until after they have been enlightened as to the real interpretation of the *urar*. On both occasions of my attendance at the *wapi* ceremony the men took great pains to impress upon me that I must on no account betray their secret to the women, a promise which, of course, I faithfully kept. The question now arises, how far are the women really hoodwinked by all this mystery? In the case of the older women, I am pretty sure they know more than
[688] the men would like to think they did, but since the penalty of knowing these things is death—formerly direct, by spear thrust, nowadays indirect, by 'poison'—it is a wise woman who keeps her own counsel. Even to me, in private conversation, they permitted themselves no more than a tone of the voice or a gleam in the eye, and these are the only evidence on which I came to the conclusion I have just stated. To the younger women, I am inclined to think, the mystery is really a mystery. The shrieks of terror which came from the crowd when the *urar* figure appeared to them (that is, its head and shoulders, at a considerable distance, as previously described) were certainly not merely 'ritual feigning', many of the women grabbing their babies and rushing off into the bush, hysterical with terror. On my return to the village, the women made persistent attempts to get me to tell them what I had seen, but I was able to keep my promise to the men without offending the women by telling them that I was frightened, an excuse which they appeared to understand.

• [534] There is no doubt whatever about the value of the bull-roarer for impressing the uninstructed. Its sound, once heard, remains a vivid memory, and even a hardened anthropologist cannot hear that ominous roar booming through the forest without feeling its power, and forgetting, for the moment, that it is caused by a bit of wood twirled on the end of a string.

The bull-roarer and the *urar* figures whose voice it is supposed

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XI

AESTHETIC ARTS

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Slit-gong (*tui* (P.), *garamuts* (K.)).

534 [208 171] THE slit-gong is the most important of the sound-producing instruments known to these people. It serves not only for dances, but also for conveying information. It is used over the whole of Buka and Bougainville. Those made in the southern parts of Bougainville differ from those made in the north in not having lugs on the ends.

534 773 539 *Origin.* There is a story explaining the origin of the slit-gong and of the rules for its use which runs thus:

There is a bird whose name is *gugurio*. He taught all the people of Sollos how to make the *garamuts*. There is a big tree that has a hole inside, it is called *toras*, the wind blows inside it, the leaves beat against the edge of the hole, it makes a noise just like a *garamuts*. Gugurio told the people to cut down the tree and make a *garamuts* of it. They made it in the bush, they lifted it up and wanted to carry it to the village. They came along carrying it. Gugurio sat on the top of the *garamuts* as the men carried it. He fell down off the *garamuts*, and it hurt his foot, it broke his leg. Now he walks about on one leg.

Gugurio went with all the people to the village. He said to them: 'You people lift up the *garamuts* and put it in front of a certain house. Don't put it in front of just any house, the *garamuts* is the sign of a *tsunaun*, you must put it in front of the house of a *tsunaun*.' All the people heard what he said. 'You people, the *garamuts* must not sound for nothing. When you have plenty of pig and plenty of taro, plenty of food in front of the big house, then you can beat it, it must not sound all the time for no reason.' So they do. When it is time for a dance, or for a big feast, then it sounds. When the people of another village hear it, they know that this village has plenty of food. Then they are cross, and say: 'When will our *garamuts* sound? We have no food, let us go and work in the taro garden.'

That is why the *garamuts* stands in front of the house of a *tsunaun*, it cannot stand at the house of a commoner.

600 *Manufacture.* Slit-gongs are made of hard wood. The name of

[p. 406]

Manufacture. Slit-gongs are made of hard wood. The

the tree from which the wood is taken is *tolos* (P.) or *toras* (K.). 549
Some villages do not know how to make these instruments for 824
themselves; those who require one either buy it from other villages 184
or pay workmen to come to their own place to make it. There were 438
three unfinished ones in the deserted village of Gomen; those who commissioned them had not wished to pay the men of Hanahan to finish them. The best are said to be made by the people of Sollos, the hill district of Buka, to whom the art was first taught, according to the legend. Ownership of a *garamuts* is individual, and is re- 422
stricted to persons who are *tumaun*. A Kurtatchi man bought a 565
fair-sized instrument from the island of Pororan for one fathom of 435
paio (ceremonial currency of flying-fox teeth), one fathom of *beroan* (shell-disk currency), and ten bamboo lengths of *oin* (red paint). The man who made it demanded another fathom of *paio*, but did not get it.

They are made in the bush, where a shelter is erected over the 549
spot. In the olden days they were shaped with stone or clam-shell implements, but now the outside is worked with metal blades hafted like an adze. Sticks are fastened along the top to define the narrow opening. The inside is then hollowed out with iron pig-spears or with knives fastened on to long rods. This used to be done with clam-shell tools. Leaves are rubbed on the instrument in process of working to make it easier, so that it will be finished quickly. They are also rubbed on the hands of the worker, together with lime, and then smeared over the slit-gong. I could not learn if any form of words is used with this procedure. If the instrument is left too long unfinished the wood gets too hard to work. To make one is considered quite an important undertaking. If two people work on it fairly constantly it takes about three weeks. Only a few people know the procedure; they pass on their knowledge to any one they care to select. Anybody can watch it [462]
being made, but the women take no part in making it.

Slit-gongs vary considerably in size. The largest I saw measured 534
about 8 feet in length, the smallest about 3 feet. None were made at the village of Kurtatchi, but Karabun of Tabut made a small one at my request. This, though smaller than those in general use, was more than a model, since it was used in several dances before being handed over to me. The people were delighted with its tone, in fact some of them wanted it to be retained in the village instead of being given to me. It is decorated with a conventional pattern.

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534 This is put on or omitted at the pleasure of the maker, and is said to be purely decorative. A certain amount of ceremony is observed in the making of a big slit-gong. When it is brought into the village out of the bush there is a *kōma*. The ritual was not carried out in the case of the small one made for me, and I have no details of it.

533 534 *Method of use.* The slit-gong is beaten with a striker (*imē*), which is generally made of several small canes lashed together in a circle, but a single thicker cane may also be used. For dances, two people frequently beat it together, one using slow measured strokes, the other short quick ones. These may be sounded by the two players on one instrument, or a second slit-gong may be used. Only one lip of the slit is beaten, that on the side nearest to the striker. It is struck where it stands in its place inside the covered portico in front of the house of a *tsunaun*, or in a *tobar*, and is seldom brought out into the open. When Pinari's slit-
533 gong had been brought over to Kurtatchi from the old village of
534 Gomen, it was first set down outside his house, and he appointed
562 some men to beat it in order to announce its safe arrival. But they 'were ashamed to beat it in front of the women', so they moved it into the portico after a few beats. On another occasion, when a Kurtatchi man, attending a feast at Ruri in connexion
[304] with a nose-piercing ceremony involving his son, was asked to help in the beating, he declined on the ground that he was ashamed to do so before the Ruri women.

At Kurtatchi the slit-gong was always beaten by men, even for a women's dance, and I was told that women never do it. But Mr.
[184] Gordon Thomas says that on the island of Pororan women beat for their own dances (1931, p. 224). There does not seem to be any actual taboo attaching to the instrument itself; men sit or lean on it, children climb over it, and I have occasionally heard small boys beating it for fun.

533 The rhythm for a *kōma* is always the same, and sounds thus (each stroke indicates a long slow beat, the dots a rapid tattoo like that produced on a kettle-drum):

/ / /.....! / / /.....! / / /.....!

This is continued for the space of a minute or so, then follows a pause of similar duration. The beating always ceases on the single stroke, which is given with great emphasis. If two instruments are used, their beats must cease simultaneously. To achieve

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Mâbu (also called *aura*).

Next to the slit-gong, the most highly valued musical instrument is the *mabu*. It is used for dances, both ceremonial and social, in conjunction with the Pan-pipes, as an alternative to the slit-gong; the two are never heard together. 534

Manufacture. The *mabu* is made of the trunk of a small tree hollowed out. Several trees are suitable, including the kapok (*wakokon*); the wood must be hard enough on the outside to stand wear and tear, and soft enough inside to be picked out easily. A length is cut rather longer than is required for the finished instrument, stripped of its bark, and set up in the ground at an angle convenient for working. The trunk is then hollowed out with an iron pig-spear. Fire is used to assist the process. In the olden days a spear of hardwood was used. The mouthpiece consists of half a coco-nut shell with a hole bored in the top, stuck on with the kernel of the 'putty-nut'. 549

The outside may be left plain, or may be carved with various traditional designs, similar to those in use on canoes, paddles, &c. (see Fig. 25). The size varies considerably; the largest I saw was almost as tall as the player, while one which was made for me, somewhat smaller than usual, measures 38¾ × 17 inches (98·5 × 43·5 cm.). It was used at dances before being handed over to me, and pronounced to have a good note. [531]

There is no ritual attached to the making of these instruments. Anybody may make them, but as a considerable amount of labour is involved, not many people do. If a large one is wanted for a special dance, it is often borrowed from another village. When the owner of one of these instruments dies, his wife dashes it on the ground and breaks it, wailing as she does so. A man will sometimes break his own *mabu* when his wife dies. The pieces must be burnt, as must those of a *mabu* accidentally broken or worn out by use. On no account must they be thrown away. 549 426 768

Method of use. The *mabu* is blown like a trumpet, with loose lip. It is played only by men or the bigger boys. The player clasps both hands round the instrument near its upper end, sometimes resting the lower end against his knee. He bends his head over the mouthpiece and blows with his mouth close up to it, his cheeks distended (Pl. 64*a*). The sound produced consists of one deep booming note not unlike that of one string of a bass viol. 534

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Pan-pipes (*ha'ur* or *tsa'ur* and *pius*).

534 These are made in several sizes. The larger ones (*tsa'ur*) have a mouthpiece made of 'putty-nut' which makes the aperture smaller (Pl. 65, 1). These usually consist of three reeds of different diameters. The smaller ones (*pius*) have no mouthpiece, but the edge of the cane may be bevelled (Pl. 65, 3 and 4). These are usually in fours, of the same diameter, but differing in length. Both kinds are always paired, one of a pair being open below, the other cut off just below a node, so that it is stopped. More elaborate ones, consisting of a number of canes of different lengths bound together in a bundle, are sometimes seen (Pl. 65, 2).

549 *Manufacture.* The pipes are made of bamboo. Just before a dance, men and boys go out into the bush and cut large quantities of suitable canes. The instruments are made by men and boys in the village, and there is no secrecy about it, in fact it is quite a social occasion, accompanied by much merriment. To cut Pan-
[534] pipes is *nagets o pius* (Pl. 64*b*). Fresh ones must be made for every dance, and thrown away afterwards, usually into the sea. But no objection was raised when I asked to be allowed to keep some of them. The nodes are poked out with a stick or a pig-spear. The first canes cut are carefully tried out till the required note is obtained, and the others are cut to these as measures. But some men estimate the length without measuring. One man told me he did not need to measure, because he could 'think in his belly'. I have heard men whistling the sequence of notes quite accurately.

533 *Method of use.* In playing, the instrument is held in both hands. The four notes are played in varying order, usually the highest one twice, then one of the intermediate ones twice, then the lowest one twice. The Pan-pipes are used in dances in conjunction with either the slit-gong or the *mabu*, the players standing in the centre
[562] of the men's wheel-like formation. Women do not play Pan-pipes even for fun.

534 There is also in use a notched-end flute made of a single reed,
177 with two or more stops, also called *pius* (Pl. 66*a*). This is merely
439 for amusement; it is never used in dances. I have seen girls playing it at Petats, but not at Kurtatchi. I incline to think it is not indigenous, but derived from the Chinese, who have traded in the district for some long time, and who sell them in their stores.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 64

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a. PLAYING *MABU*

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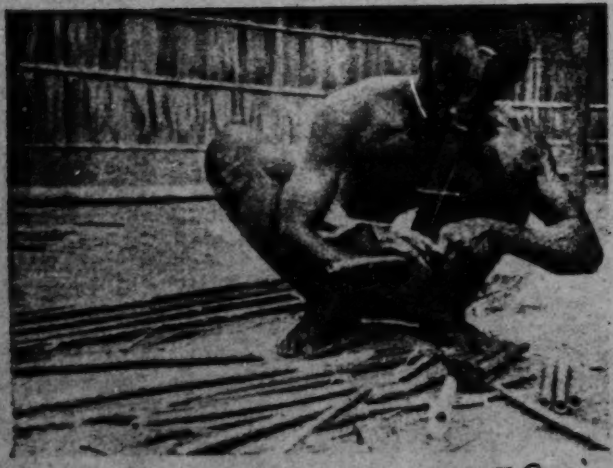

b. MAKING PAN-PIPES

[facing p 412]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 65

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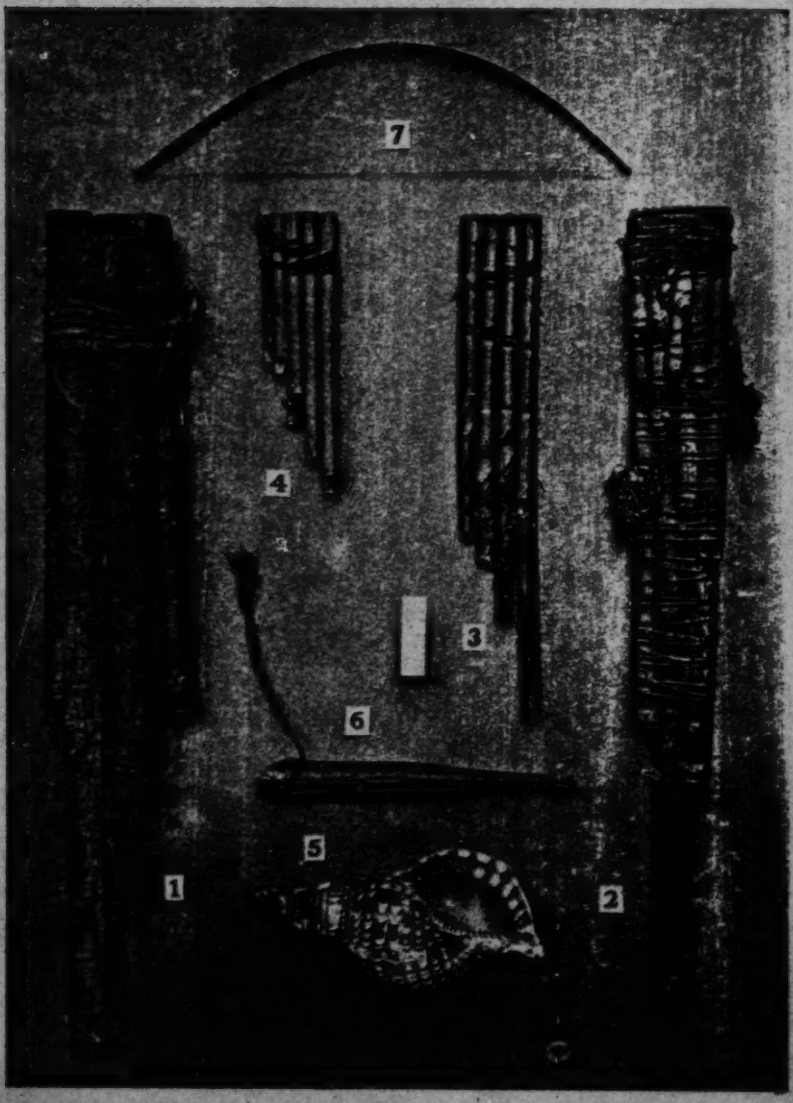


MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

1, 2, 3, 4. Pan-pipes. 5. Conch. 6. Jews' harp. 7. Musical bow

[facing p. 413]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

Conch-shell (*tsuviy*).

The shell in general use is the triton shell. The sound hole is at the side (Pl. 65, 5). They are of various sizes, quite small ones being used by little boys. Women do not sound them. To sound the conch is *piu o tsuviy*.

The *tsuviy* is sounded on ceremonial occasions, especially those involving a journey of importance, such as that to bring home the long poles for the special *tobar* (boys' house) to be built for the *matawutf* ceremony, or on the way to one of these ceremonies. The performer jumps about and assumes a fierce expression, while blowing as loud a blast as he can upon the shell.

The musical bow (*kaykoyo*).

The musical bow consists of a flat strip of cane strung like a bow (Pl. 65, 7). It is played by holding one end between the teeth, with the string towards the face, so that the mouth acts as a resonator, while the string is plucked with the fingers towards the other end of the bow. It is used by women only, and solely for amusement, never for ceremonial purposes or at dances.

The musical bow as here used is the simplest form of an instrument which is found, with various modifications, in various parts of the Pacific area, in India and Africa, and also in Central and South America. Its distribution has been traced and discussed by H. Balfour (1899), who considers that there is close relationship throughout the Malayo-Melanesio-Polynesian series, and brings forward evidence in favour of a common origin for the forms found in India and Africa without regarding the question as settled.

The jews' harp (*pokpoko*).

The jews' harp is made of bamboo, with a straight tongue. Its shape is best seen from the photograph (Pl. 65, 6). It is played, also for amusement only, by the men.

The story goes that the rights of the sexes in these two instruments were originally reversed.

Story of origin of pokpoko

There were two people of Toioh (an island off the north-west corner of Bougainville), a man and a woman, they were going to be married, but they were not married yet. The man lived in the men's house, the woman in her own hut. At that time the *kaykoyo*, that is like a bow, belonged to the men, the women did not play it.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

534 The man played the *koykoyo*. The woman said: 'What is this thing
773 that cries just like a frog, *koyo koyo*? It is not making a nice noise, it
539 sounds just like a frog in the bush.' Then the woman took a piece of cane and scraped it, and took a piece of string, and made a hole; she put the piece of string through the hole and pulled at it so (here the teller illustrated by pulling the string of the instrument with his thumb, holding it in his clenched hand). It sounded very well. The man, who stayed in the men's house, heard it, and said: 'Ah, who is it who has made a thing that sounds so nice?' A man said: 'Oh, a woman made it.' He came and looked, he wanted the woman to show it to him, but the woman hid the *pokpoko* in a heap of firewood, she did not want the man to see it. He said: 'Woman, where is this thing that sounds so nice?' The woman pretended: 'I do not know, I heard the sound, I thought it was you who were making it in the men's house.' The man said: 'No, I heard it in your house.' The woman said: 'No.' Now the man did not come close to the woman yet, he was ashamed before her, he went back to the men's house and lay down on the bed. (This incident is repeated.)

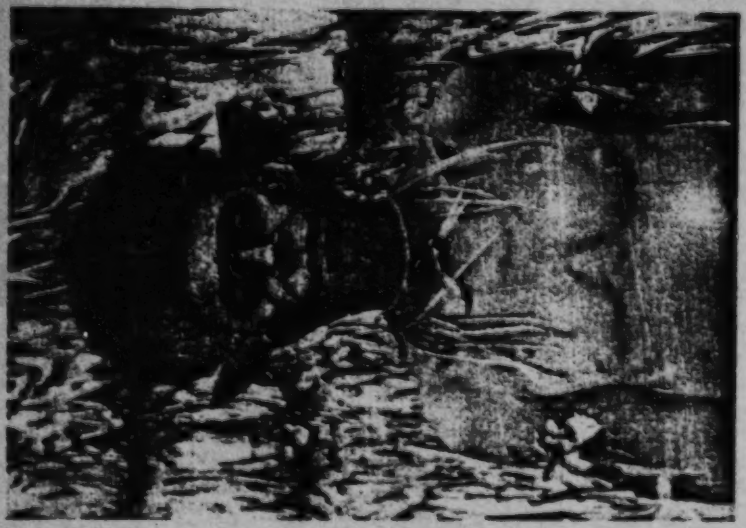
The man played the *koykoyo* all the time. Then the woman said: 'Who wants a *koykoyo* that makes a noise like a frog?' She brought out her *pokpoko* again and played it; sometimes it sounded like a person crying, sometimes it sounded almost like a bull-roarer when it is whirled. The man ran again, and came and hid on the other side. He said: 'I had better seize this woman when she makes that thing sound, it makes me feel so sorry I want to cry.' Then he came very softly, he ran and seized the woman. She jumped up, the two struggled. The woman said: 'Man, why do you hold me like this?' He said: 'Why did you make this thing? My heart trembles, it turns towards you.' Then he took away the woman's *pokpoko*. He said: 'It doesn't belong to you any more, it belongs to me now. My *koykoyo* can belong to you now.' Then the woman cried bitterly. Then the two were married.

DANCE

535 There is only one form of dance (*kōma*), which is used for all occasions, both ceremonial and merely social. The men and boys walk slowly round in a sort of wheel-like formation, with the *mabu* players—one or two, as the case may be, if these are being used—forming the hub of the wheel. If the slit-gong is being used, the *mabu* is absent. In the former case, the men and boys are furnished with Pan-pipes, in the latter they may or may not accompany the slit-gong with these instruments. The women and girls dance backwards and forwards outside the wheel, coming close up to the men and then backing away again, in sets of two, three, or more—

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 66



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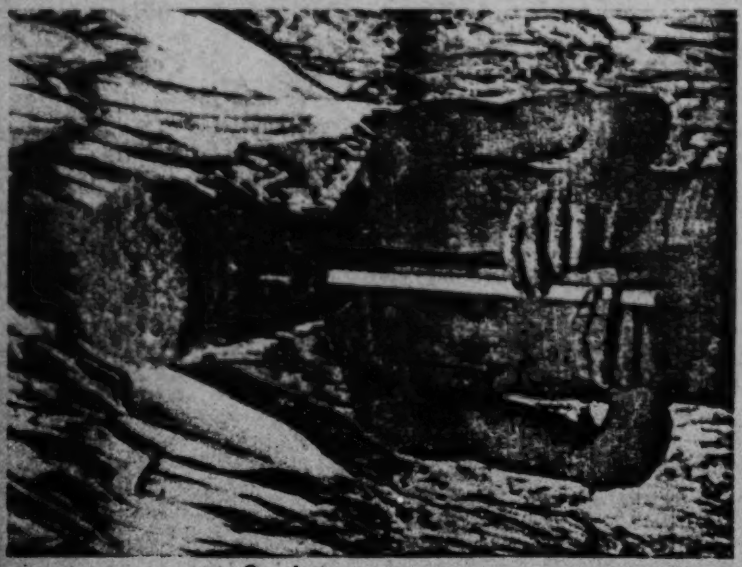
b. WASÉ: A YOUNG DANDY



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142

a. MAN WITH LIMED HAIR, PLAYING THE FLUTE

[facing p 420]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

valued that their owners usually refused to part with them at any price. The human figures are also represented in the upright position. Very few lime-pots are carved at the present day; the men say they are too lazy. They either use the coco-nuts without carving, or substitute cigarette or tobacco tins.

The bowls of pipes are sometimes similarly carved, but most pipes have plain bowls. The patterns are often cut for amusement on the rind of fruits, such as the mango, or the soft outer sheath of the canarium almond at certain stages of growth. Some of the traditional patterns are used for many different purposes, e.g. on the sides of plank canoes (*mon*), on paddles, on the *upi* used at the *watawuʃ* ceremony, and on the outside of *mabu* and sometimes of slit-gongs. Those which were carved on the *mabu* made for me (Fig. 25) were explained thus:

the two human figures, *kokorra*, 'two little men';
the ornament on the head of one of these, *ku a poits*, the two claws of a large salt-water crab, which are used as ornaments at dances;
lower half of pattern between the *kokorra*, the lower part of *ku a poits*;
upper half, *bĕbĕ*, name of pattern often put on paddles;
pattern running round the instrument below the figures, *pahatʃau*, name of pattern used on *mon* and on paddles;
lines running round the bottom of the instrument, *pisosku*, name of pattern, frequent on *upi*.

A variety of patterns is seen on the *watsinan* of the plank canoe (*mon*), some of which are shown in Fig. 26. For the most part they appear to be chosen at the whim of the carver from a number of generally known conventional designs. Some have a meaning, others are said to be 'just marks'. The most interesting and most important are the highly conventionalized representations of the human form found on the larger canoes. These are survivals from the time when such canoes were used in warfare, and even now the pattern has retained a certain significance. A special feast of ceremonial pudding must be held when the *watsinan* is carved. In the olden days no woman might travel in a *mon* thus decorated, but this custom is now breaking down. It may not be sold to a white man. It is still reserved for important journeys, not being used for bonito fishing or 'for play'. A *mon* thus decorated

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

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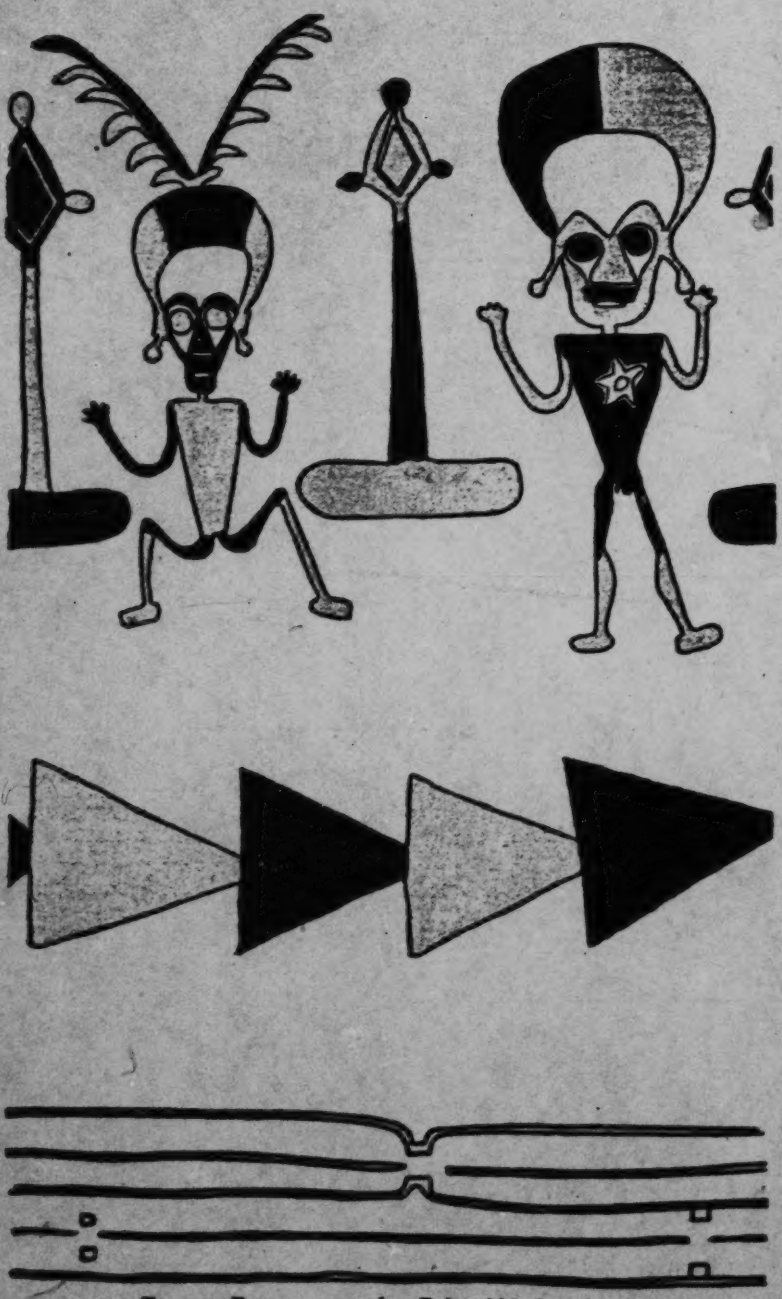


FIG. 25. Patterns on *malu*. Painted black and red.

[p. 434]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

p. 390), that in use on Buka and Bougainville is, according to all my informants, obtained from New Britain and New Ireland, and especially from Manus in the Admiralty Islands. They made no mention of any from elsewhere, except that I was told that there was one man living on a small island off the west coast of Buka who knew how to make it. I was not able to verify this. It is called *beroan*, the same term being employed in all dialects with which I have any acquaintance. Three varieties are seen. The most common are either white or purplish (see Pl. 67, 2*a*, 2*b*). A third consists of rather larger disks of a brownish colour, and is distinguished from the other two by name, *kulin*, in the Petats dialect. The disks are strung on native fibre string, small black rings of some vegetable substance being sometimes incorporated in the string at irregular intervals. So far as I could ascertain, this is done merely for the sake of its appearance, and not to mark lengths or values. The unit of length is the fathom (about 6 feet). A single string is considered to be the equivalent of 5*s*. The Bougainville natives say that they did not fix this value themselves, but took it over from the people of New Britain and Manus with the strings themselves. I found it quite impossible to elicit any information as to how long the use of this shell currency had been known in Bougainville, or how it first came to be associated with a value in terms of shillings.

Beroan is not used in the ordinary exchanges which have been described in the foregoing pages, but is given in payment for certain things only. It is also used for personal ornament, being worn round the waist or slung across the shoulders of adults or children for ceremonial dances and on other special occasions. Larger shells with dogs' teeth inside are sometimes attached to short strings of *beroan* which are then used as rattles, either to amuse infants or as an accompaniment to a dance.

Some uses of *beroan* (other than for personal adornment) which came under my notice are listed below:

1. Several fathoms change hands in the course of the transactions connected with marriage.
2. As compensation for theft, in return for release of culprits.
3. As part payment for pigs.
4. As payment for carving *kaisa* figure.
5. As payment for being taught certain kinds of magic.
6. Thrown into coffin of *maris* as sign of grief.

out great plantations for them, are kept under rather strict control, and if there is a shortage of food, the relatives must send the necessary things and put them down outside the high fence of the ähbassa burri. If any women should enter the ähbassa burri--which by the way never happens--then they would be killed; they are also killed if they accidentally catch sight of a Matasesën without his hasseboû and are caught in the act. Such cases are reputedly not extremely rare. Thus it is understandable that the women stay as far away as possible from the place of residence of the Matasesën and their plantations. The women are told that at the ähbassa burri the Matasesën commune with spirits that are called Ruk. There are two different spirits: a male one, Ruk a tzon: and a female one, called Ruk a tahol. These spirits produce a noise that is so terrible and frightening to the ears of the women that they throw away their possessions and hastily run away. It is self-evident that the Marau and the Matasesën appropriate that which has been thrown away. The noise that sounds so terrible is actually harmless enough, for the instrument that produces it is a whirring rod that is swung with great rapidity overhead on a thin cord. Obviously this whirring rod is a secret that remains strictly concealed from the women. A visitor never gets to see one. On a short jaunt in Bougainville with some friendly coastal acquaintances it happened a few years ago that I caught up in the forest with a number of Matasesën who were returning from their plantation work. All of them were armed as usual with spears, bows and arrows, but one of them had in his hand a piece of wood whose use was unknown to me and which attracted my attention. But when I stepped up to the youth, he hid the instrument behind his back, and there arose a lively dispute among the companions as well as among my comrades. As a result the young man in question hastily slipped into the bushes and disappeared from my sight. At that time the incident was completely incomprehensible to me; despite all inquiries I could not find out the reason for this sudden disappearance and only years later did it occur to me that the harmless whirring rod had been the cause.

When the hair finally completely fills the hasseboû, a great festivity is held within the ähbassa burri, to which also the fathers and male relatives of the Matasesën are granted admittance. This festival lasts several days, and dancing and singing alternate with banquets; the men prepare every single dish. The women are strictly forbidden to approach the festival place, and the spirit voices of Ruk keep them at

Music, Song, Dance

Music, song, and -- connected to them -- the dance have many peculiarities in the northwestern Solomon Islands. Musical instruments are present in the form of drums and Panpipes. The drums are hollowed-out tree trunks that are carefully smoothed off on the outside; the sound slit is often decorated with carvings in bas relief, especially with the head that is characteristic for the region or with the whole human figure. These drums come in various sizes; a few of them are gigantic specimens 150 centimeters long. As a rule the drums are kept in the huts; less frequently one sees them outside. The drummer takes the drumstick in his right hand and beats it, guiding it by the thumb and index finger of the left hand, in a slow or fast tempo against the side wall of the drum slightly below the sound slit; this produces a resonance that is audible at a great distance. Usually several drums are tuned to various pitches, but I never heard more than four different ones. The natives know how to use these drums to communicate with their distant neighbors in a comprehensible signal language; but the drums are also sounded at dances and other festivities. The skill with which the drummers manipulate their drumsticks is truly astonishing. A slow measure is followed by short rapid beats, then again a few measured beats, once again interrupted by an ever-increasing tempo until finally the beats follow one another so rapidly that they die out as a single long rumble. When several drums are simultaneously beaten at this rapid tempo, the sound is earsplitting for musical European ears, but the Solomon Islanders are delectated by it for hours, and scarcely does one drummer become tired when another one jumps up to continue the noise.

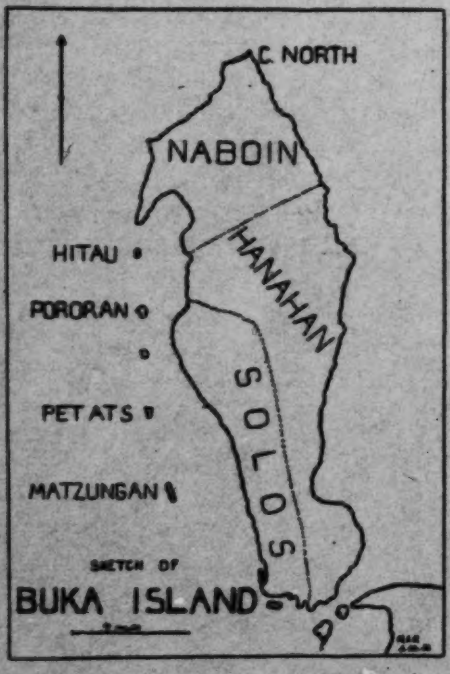
The Panpipes are produced in various sizes from bamboo canes. A concert of these pipes does not sound unpleasant. The individual pipes are tuned according to a certain system; there are some with a scale of four and others with a scale of six tones. Different pitches are produced by varying the length and breadth of the reeds--from the deepest bass to the highest treble. I know no other Melanesian people that is able in this way to produce a melody that has any claim to the name "music." I reproduce here a melody, which, however, is always played in harmony. The low range pipes play the individual chords. Unfortunately I was unable to write down the whole phrase as

3: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1932
ON6 Buka ON6

539 Then they lifted up Monohan and came home. They beat
773 the slit-gong. / Two young girls heard the slit-gong, they came up, they asked the old woman: "Who is that beating
● [534] the slit-gong? We know you have no men here." (Beating the slit-gong is the men's prerogative.) The old woman said: "You think I have got a man here, do you?" "Someone is beating the slit-gong at your place." "No, I think it is another place." She had hidden her children. So the two girls went away. The slit-gong sounded again. The two girls came back. "Old woman, you are hiding some man you have got here." The old woman said: "No, all the men ran away." Then the two girls pretended to go away, they hid close by. Then the slit-gong sounded again. The two girls ran back again, and said: "Old woman, we did really hear your slit-gong, you must have a man here." "No, I haven't. I am ill." She had tied a string round her
[757] leg to fool them. (When the natives are in pain, they tie a piece of fibre string very tightly round the affected part.) "Can't you see that I am very ill?" One of the girls had a child with her, the child dropped a shell-knife. Now the
[445] two brothers were hiding behind a *baran* (large wooden tray on which is pounded the taro for making ceremonial pudding). Their mother tried to catch the shell-knife, she threw over the *baran*. The girls saw the old woman's two children, they cried out: "Oh! the old woman was hiding two fine fellows!" Then one of the girls pulled one of the brothers to her, and the other girl pulled the other brother. So they were married.

Then the two brothers took the two girls and they went and cut up Monohan. Then they cooked him, and put him on the food-platform. Then they killed a lot of pigs, to make a big feast to eat with the man. Then they sent word to the people from every place to come, they had a big feast, a man and some pigs. The old woman sent word to all the men who had run away before: "I called out to you before, and you would not come back, now you must come

mothers and relations of youths ready for initiation—show signs of great agitation; and owners of pigs commence wondering whether they will be called upon to supply one or two porkers from their precious herd. The ceremony is conducted by the head-men of a community, and it is these men who disappear into the bush and



create the cries of Ndook by medium of the bull-roarer and another instrument consisting of a half coconut shell with a small portion of a coconut leaf stretched across the opening. This, used in a manner similar to that in which children play on a comb and paper, creates a most eerie sound. Those men whom the head-men have decided should supply pigs are warned of this by a huge stick (used for carrying trussed pigs) being mysteriously thrust through the doors of their houses at night. Refusal to obey such an edict was, and sometimes still is, punishable by death.

535 The Buka dance or *guma* is an uninteresting spectacle. Unlike other Melanesian dances there is very little action and the [535] accompanying singing is but a constant repetition of "O-a-o-a" in as many keys as the human voice is capable of rendering. The men walk slowly around in a circle while the women, standing some ten yards away, advance to the edge of the circle from time to time and in pairs bend their bodies backwards and forwards, or in threes and fours skip sideways to and fro. From a distance the singing is often harmonious, but when heard at close quarters it is both ear-splitting and appalling to a musical listener.

[534] The singing is accompanied by the beating of the hollowed-out 202 wooden drums (*tui*) with series of short staccato raps from the soft-nosed beaters. These *tui* can be heard for many miles when weather conditions are favourable and are used extensively for signalling. Some of the Buka districts have elaborate *tui* codes, and are able to send detailed messages from village to village. Among the more [76] simplified signals is that denoting a death and is made by ten long beats, pause, three short, pause, three short, pause, five short, pause, five short, pause, and ten long. When a man is annoyed over something (his wife has failed to cook the taro, or a pig has died) and he wishes to "tell the world" he raps out ten long beats, a pause, then another ten long beats. The arrival of a stranger in a village is denoted by three long beats, pause, followed by three series of seven short beats interspersed with pauses. The general call to assemble in a village is three series of three shorts and one long beat.

302 The men usually wear their hair long and combed upright. [346] The hair of a woman is close-cropped, except when she has given birth to a child and then it is allowed to grow long until the child is able to crawl about. The women wear a hood made from pandanus 291 leaves sewn horizontally together, with every other leaf dyed red 386 with the root of a bush. This custom is to prevent certain of their male relatives from seeing their hair, which is taboo. A loin cloth 291 of red or coloured print serves as the general garment for both sexes. 177 A few years ago the women wore a small grass *tahu*, and in former days the men wore no covering.

4: Thomas U-5 (no date) 1931 ON6 Buka ON6
Pororan

Each village has, amongst its older men and women, some with 278
a very fair knowledge of native medicines and also, unfortunately, 757
one or two with a secret knowledge of poisons. The administration
of curative and prophylactic medicines is usually accompanied by
elaborate rites which the patient must rigidly observe. Contra-
ceptives are commonly used by the women and one herb is claimed
to be what might be termed a "contra-contraceptive," *i.e.*, after
a woman has been barren for several years, as a result of taking a
contraceptive, this herb will make her fertile again. When epidemics 751
occur villages as yet untouched will place small sticks, leaning out-
wards, on the various roads to ward off the arrival of the spirit of
sickness. The sticks are smeared with the spittle of betel-nut, 763
pepper and lime. If the cry of a certain night-bird is heard over a 787
village where a patient lies dangerously ill, it is usual then for any
further attempt to combat the illness to cease. Death has spoken.
The bird's call is looked upon as the inevitable token of death, and
the relations commence to gather together their presents for the dead
in readiness for throwing them into the coffin or grave. It is strange,
but the cases where to my own knowledge the bird's call has actually
preceded the death of a patient have been numerous.

DRUM SIGNALLING ON PORORAN ISLAND

Pororan legend has it that in the days of long ago (*manus*) 773
before drum signalling had been introduced a strange resonant noise 534
was heard coming from the bush by the men of the village one
evening. Half fearful investigations were made and it was found
that the noise came from a swinging branch beaten by the wind upon
a hollow tree. From this sprang the idea of the *tui*, or wooden
drum, which is used so extensively throughout Buka, Bougainville
and other Melanesian islands.

The making of these drums in the early days, before steel 534
implements were introduced, was a long, tedious and almost sacred
performance. In many of the *tui* the aperture at the top is but an
inch to an inch and a half in width extending the full length of the
drum, while the outer circumference measures in many cases as
much as eight feet six inches. Sharpened clam-shells, fastened to [413]
spear hafts or long sticks were the only tools used for the work.

534 Even to this day the process is similar except that steel chisels and [177] adzes have been brought into play by the experts.

[178] The size of the *tui* varies. On Pororan Island (situated five miles west of the Buka mainland) there are three standard sizes: the *tui*, the *halan* and the *king*. The former measures about eight feet long and four feet high; the *halan*, five feet by two feet, and the *king* three feet by one foot.

The fact that the word *tui* is used for the large drum and *king* for the smaller size prompted me to make searching enquiry as to their etymological origin to see if I might connect them with the Fijian *tui* (king) but, so far as I can gather, the words originated simply from their close resemblance to the sound which both these instruments make.

202 For signalling the *tui* is used exclusively, and one is to be found in every *tsuhan*, or master's house, in the village. The beating is done by hitting the drum sharply, near the top in the centre with [124] the soft-nosed *tsinoi*, or beater, which consists of a number of thick strips of the lawyer vine about six feet in length, bound closely together at the striking end, allowing the other end of the strips to remain loose. These, by a certain twist of the wrist, create a rustling accompaniment to the beats when excitement runs high during a dance. No special men in a village are invested with the privilege of beating a *tui*, though uninitiated boys are not supposed to do so. Women, on the occasion of their own dances, are allowed to beat one.

535 533 During dances (*guma*) the *tui* and *king* are used. The *king* commences and continues with a uniform series of short beats, which attain a higher and more penetrating note than the deep-toned *tui*, even as the word *king* when pronounced sharply. The *tui* beats are varied according to the humour and the ability of the man employed as beater. Usually the beats are:

— — — . . . . . — — — — . . . . . —[1]

Beats continue for a period of from one to two minutes and then *tui* and *king* cease simultaneously, the signal being two or three louder beats made on the *tui*. If the cessation of beats is not simul-

[1] A long beat is represented by a dash; a short one by a dot.

4: Thomas U-5 (no date) 1931 ON6 Buka ON6
Pororan

776 by means of a string. The *bahuan* shown in Plate II, B, was ac-
778 claimed a work of art by the spectators. It consisted of a frame-
532 work of rattan covered with black calico, beneath which a *muri-na-lium* danced and gyrated.

881 Ceremonies are held in a special taboo area upon which no
685 woman is permitted at any time to tread. Any matters connected with Ndook are kept strictly secret from the women (*be-hay*, as Ndook has named them). If one of them trespasses on this ground, catches sight of a carving to be used in a ceremony, or acquires any knowledge of the Ndook, she is put to death even today.

881 A week to ten days prior to the date of the ceremony *putz-putzi*
776 are detailed to wander about the taboo ground operating the *liahan* and *rago*. The former is a bull-roarer which is looked upon as being the voice of the chief spirit or god. (The word *liahan* seems to signify god rather than a spirit, inasmuch as Liahan is the omnipotent creator of everything. He is invisible, and no attempt has been made to create his likeness in an image as has been done to spirits.)
[534] The *rago* is an oscillatory-ribbon-reed instrument[3] consisting of a portion of a coconut leaf tied between two thin strips of stick and fastened into half a coconut shell. A shrill piercing note is given out when the instrument is blown upon. The *rago* represents the cry of Ndook's wife. These cries are continued throughout the days and nights prior to the ceremony and increase in volume and frequency as the appointed day approaches. Along certain highways the travels of Ndook are marked by bushes being trampled down and small trees uprooted.

881 Guests from neighbouring islands arrive quietly during the night prior to the ceremony and land near the ceremonial ground, keeping hidden from any women and *tseezen*.

When all preparations have been made, *bahuan* and *malai* completed, beds for food erected, and the various *putz-putzi* detailed to their tasks of operating the *bahuan*, carrying *malai* or merely to act as members of the attacking party, the *tseezen* are called from their respective houses by six or seven *muri-na-lium*. They emerge
[384] half-fearfully with painted faces and hair oiled and smeared with

[3] *Notes and Queries*, Fifth Ed., page 303.

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CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS OF THE NATIVES OF BUKA. PLATE I.
Tui *and* King *with Beaters.*

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chiefly of lewd dancing and feasting. Boys were often initiated when little more than babies. They were snatched from their mothers' arms and taken to the bush. Coconut water was poured over them and their skins covered with broken pieces of leaf and grass. On being returned to their mothers it was explained that the children had been eaten by Ndook, passed through his stomach and evacuated. The slime and grass gave proof to this story.

Though great importance is attached to this ceremony now, I am of the opinion that the clandestine feasting and the desire to exhibit better images than other districts are of greater import to the *muri-na-lium* than the actual initiation ceremony. The prominence which is given to the *bahuan* and *malai* images seems to point to a form of spirit cult which is of but recent introduction. The time devoted to the *tseezen* is negligible in comparison with the labour expended upon the carvings, the preparation of food and the various deceptions practised upon the women.

The legend regarding the discovery of the *liahan* seems to point to the fact that the original idea of the Ndook ceremony was to enable the men to foregather secretly in the bush and there gorge themselves with food and give vent to lewd dances without the encumbrance or interference of the women.

The *liahan* or bull-roarer according to Pororan legend was discovered by a woman while she was cutting firewood in the bush. A piece of the wood hurtled through the air and made a mysterious noise. Curiosity prompted her to tie a piece of vine to the wood and whirl it about her head. Picking up her bundle of firewood she placed the thin blade with the vine attached on top and started homeward. On her way she met her husband, who noticed the blade and enquired the reason for the attached vine. She gave him an illustration. He confiscated it and showed it to several of the headmen. It was a novelty, something which had never been seen before. They decided it should be used as the voice of the god or spirit Liahan. The women was killed and the secret kept only amongst the older men. They said that the omnipotent Liahan was demanding food. When it had been collected this food was taken into the bush and eaten by the headmen and the chiefs.

GORDON THOMAS